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Assyriological Gleanings I

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preserved. Its head is very thin but broad. No inscription or distinguishing mark of any kind was found on the dagger.

Small socketed javelin-head S. N. 1853 (TBM II Pl. 41, No. 18, §59): maximum length after cleaning 9.4 cm. and maximum width 1.8 cm. Considerable corrosion had eaten into both head and socket although it was worse on one side than on the other. It was an all-hammered piece. The socket had been hammered about a form and then the point was finished. The seam of the socket is not along the perpendicular axis of the javelin-head, but follows the angle of the metal as it was shaped on the form.

Small tanged javelin-head S. N. 502 (not described or photographed in TBM volumes): maximum length after cleaning 8.5 cm. but part of tang is missing; maximum width 1.9 cm. The point had hit a hard object such as a wall and had been turned back at a right angle. This point is badly corroded as is natural from the injury to this section of the grain structure of the metal in contrast to the uninjured section of the javelin-head. The face of the javelin-head is almost as clean as new, but the reverse is somewhat corroded. One edge has much of the original sharpness, but the other edge is more or less missing. Each original facet from the cutting edge to the midriff is 6 mm. It looks like a cast job from a one piece mold, but it is too thin to have been cast. On the other hand the accurate midriff edges would probably not be made by ordinary hammering. The most likely method of manufacture was that the javelin-head was hammered when hot into a bronze die.

## ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS I

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

### I

The Neo-Babylonian personal name *Ša-pî-kalbi* has puzzled Assyriologists for a long time and has finally been correctly interpreted by Stamm, *Namengebung* (MVAeG 44) p. 320 f. as "Who (has been snatched) from the mouth of the dog(s)" (for previous translations cf. Stamm, *loc. cit.*, p. 320, n. 2). Stamm refers for this name (and for the name *Ina-pî-kalbi-irih* "He has been saved [lit.: was left over] from the mouth of the dog(s)") to a passage in the series *ana ittišu* (cf. Landsberger, MSL I, 44, line 32 ff.) where the discovery and subsequent adoption of a foundling is described with the words: "he (the adoptant) has snatched him (the foundling) from the mouth of the dog(s)" and "he (the foundling) has been found in a pit." He therefore considers *Ša-pî-kalbi* as a characteristic name of a foundling, describing its discovery as an exposed child in the street, threatened by the roving dogs of an Oriental city.

In my opinion, however, this name is too frequent to favor such a rather sentimental interpretation and I propose therefore the following somewhat different view suggested by a contemporary legal tablet.

The first five lines of the damaged text Strassmaier Nbk 439 run as follows:

an-nu-tu amēlmu-kin-ni-e šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu  
[sal - ]-ra-a amēl[ ]-tum(?) (-)x-šú a-na  
[pi-i] kal-bi ta-as-su-qu mNûr-dŠamaš  
[ i]š(!)-tu pi-i kal-bi iš-šú-ú'-ma  
[ amēlmukinnu: ]

"these are the witnesses in the presence of whom the [lady X]-ra-a has thrown her(!) . . . to [the mouth of] the dog(s) (and) *Nûr-dShamash* has taken (him) away from the mouth of the dog(s) and [has . . . -ed (him)]. Witness: ]"

This text obviously describes a staged exposure of an infant(?) (on our copy the denomination of the subject of this transaction is unfortunately illegible) and the subsequent adoption by a man named *Nûr-dShamash*. The relation between the lady and the child(?) is unknown but it clearly results from the context that she disposed of it by placing it before "the mouth of the dogs," i. e. on the street. The partner took the child up (cf. German: "aufnehmen, an Kindes statt") again: "from the mouth of the dogs." These two symbolic activities are denoted by the legal phrases *ana pî kalbi nasâqu* "to throw to the mouth of the dog(s)" and *îštu pî kalbi našû* "to take from the mouth of the dog(s)." <sup>a b</sup>

I suppose that the personal name *Ša-pî-kalbi* is therefore more likely to refer to the just described particular type of adoption than to the fact that the named person escaped the ignominious death of being devoured by the dogs.

## II

The circumstantially styled maledictions in the legal texts of the Middle- and Neo-Babylonian period refer, generally speaking, to three spheres of the life of the law-breaker or the violator of the recorded agreements: to his physical well-being, his financial situation and finally to his existence in the Nether-world. The repertoire of phrases, allusions and terms used by the scribes of these documents is rather stereotyped but it represents nevertheless an important source of information which has not yet been systematically studied.

Only very rarely does the scribe use a new phrase, alluding to certain popular concepts not attested in other literary sources. This is, e. g., the case in the malediction recorded on the damaged text BE VIII/1 4: rev. 1-6, which adds a new feature to Mesopotamian ideas concerning the existence in the Nether-world:

*šá da-ba-bu an-na' immû dA(!)-na[m]<sup>1</sup> dEllil  
u dÉ-a ár(!)-ra-ta m[a]-r[u](!)-uš-tam la na[p-šu-r]u  
li-ru-ru ù la i-gam-mi-il nap-šat-su  
dŠamaš datan šamêc u iršitimtim aplu na-qa me-e  
li-ki-in-šu-ma ina s[a g].d u iršitimtim elimmu-šû  
li-ša(!)-ma' ki-ib-su*

"Who(ever) alters this agreement, may Anu, Ellil and Ea curse (him) with an evil curse and may they not spare his life! May Shamash, judge

<sup>a</sup> [This Babylonian parallel seems to explain the curious expression, Psalms 22: 21 (20), "Save my soul from the sword, *yehidati* from the dog(s)."] As shown clearly by Psalms 35: 17, this word, meaning literally "my only (child)," is metaphorically used for "soul"; originally, however, there is an obvious play on words, with reference to saving an only child (masculine, Zech. 12: 10, etc.; feminine, Jud. 11: 34) from the dogs.—W. F. A.]

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the Neo-Babylonian curse given by Zimmerer, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, II, p. 20 (cf. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 48), which ends: "May (the gods) destroy from the land his name and his seed; and may they put his flesh into the mouth of the dog(s) (*ina pî ša kalbi*)."

<sup>1</sup> *nam* has here the value *num<sub>x</sub>*.

of heaven and earth, rob him of his son (who) offers the libation-water (for him) and may he immobilize his ghost in the (remotest) corner of the Nether-world!"

The phrase *ina qaqqad iršitim eṭimmušu lišamma' kibsu* is unique in the repertoire of the scribes. My translation of *šummû kibsu* "to make thirst," i. e. "long for (a) step (movement)" is suggested by similar *kudurrû*-phrases, e. g. Scheil, DP II, 109, VI: 53 "as long as he (the leper) lives make him long for (be deprived of) his house (*bît-su li-ša-mi-ma*), or Scheil, DP VI, 41, III: 21, *li-ša-am-mi ḏAš-na-an* (also Seidman, *Adadnirari II*, line 68 [MAOG IX/3 p. 24], Thompson CT XXII, 222: 8, etc.).<sup>1a</sup> For my interpretation of *ina qaqqad iršitim* "at the rim of the Nether-world" cf. my article "Idiomatic Accadian" in JAOS 61 p. 255s (sub *rêšu*).

The banishment of the ghost (*eṭimmu*) of the law-breaker to the rim of the Nether-world means his separation from the ghosts of his family. This is borne out by another *kudurrû*-passage misunderstood by Scheil DP VI p. 38 V: 22 [*eṭimmu-šû*] *a-na eṭim kim(!)-ti-šû a-a is-ni-iq* "may [his ghost] not join the ghost(s) of his family." This shows that the entire clan hoped to endure together their existence in the shadows beyond the grave in a continuation of their life in this world. It was therefore considered a special hardship to be separated from his kin in the Nether-world.

As to *na-qa me-e* I should like to note that only the second of the three duties of the ritual for the death is mentioned in the *kudurrû*-texts; these duties are: *ka-sap ki-is-pi* "offering food," *na-aq me-e* "pouring a libation (of cold water)" and *za-kar šu-me* "pronouncing of the name (of the dead)"<sup>2</sup> (from CT XVI, pl. 10, V: 10-14).

### III

The Neo-Assyrian letter, Harper ABL 555, contains an interesting and so far unnoticed allusion to some story, proverbial saying or fable popular in that period.

*eṭlu ša si-bīt ni-ši iṣ-bat-u-ni ina nâri iṭ-ṭib-bu ša si-bīt še-li-bi iṣ-bat-u-ni u-si-zib*  
(rev. 3-6)

"The man whom seven lions have attacked (lit.: seized) was (finally) drowned (lit.: sunk) in the river, (but) the one whom seven foxes have attacked, he was saved!"

The text continues (l. 7-10) "He trusts in (his(?)) . . . silver and in gold but I trust in the king, my lord! [end of the letter]."

The story alluded to in this passage dealt most likely with the ad-

<sup>1a</sup> [Cf. the expression *ša êribušu šummû nûra*, "whose enterer is deprived of light," in the Descent of Ishtar. In view of *eṭimmêšunu kipsi nâq mê ušammêšunûti* (Rassam Cylinder of Aššûr-bân-apli, vi: 75 f.), "I deprived their shades of food-offerings and libators," I propose that *kipsu* in the above text be explained as originally metathesis for *kispu*, like *tikpu* for *tipku*, etc. The misunderstanding on the part of the ancient scribes would be quite natural.—W. F. A.]

<sup>2</sup> The pronouncing of the name of the dead has no sentimental reasons but is meant to attract the attention of his roving spirit and to summon him to the place of the offering. Cf. the Seleucid text, Langdon, RA XII, p. 74, line 28, *la-ba-an ap-pi u za-kar šu-mu* "prostration and pronouncing of the name (of the god)."

ventures of two men, one attacked by lions, the other the harmless foxes. The man who escaped the lions had no luck because he presently drowned in the river while his companion survived this calamity and was saved. The moral of the story could be that somebody who is doomed may escape even seven lions to meet his fate eventually in the (harmless ?) river. But this is only a guess.

## THE FURNITURE OF EL IN CANAANITE MYTHOLOGY

W. F. ALBRIGHT

Though we have been cut off in America from French publications in the field of Ugaritic studies since 1940,<sup>1</sup> it is still possible to make many contributions in detail to the understanding of the previously published texts. Since my latest article on the subject in the BULLETIN,<sup>2</sup> I have contributed a few observations to other publications. Otherwise little has been published in this field. Just out are two pertinent items: Cyrus H. Gordon's handsome little book *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat*, which provides an excellent popular introduction to the field but limits itself wisely to a number of the best-understood passages;<sup>3</sup> H. L. Ginsberg's fine article, "The Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism."<sup>4</sup>

In the first column of the second part of the Baal Epic which was published by Virolleaud—but which probably preceded the first published tablet—there is an exceedingly difficult passage (lines 31-44) which was not translated by the first editor, whose comments on words show that he did not understand it at all.<sup>5</sup> When I tackled this text in 1934, I gave the passage up as a bad job.<sup>6</sup> In the same year T. H. Gaster tried his hand, but too little comparative material was available, and he also failed.<sup>7</sup> H. L. Ginsberg translated a few phrases the following year, but prudently avoided the obscurities.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile Zellig Harris had correctly explained the structure of the passage,<sup>9</sup> and A. Goetze

<sup>1</sup> My remarks in the BULLETIN, No. 82 (1941), p. 43, were a little too pessimistic. From news that has crept through censorship it appears that Virolleaud has published another tablet of the important Keret Epic in *Syria*, XXII (1941), pp. 105-136, and that a number of other pertinent articles have appeared in *Syria* and the *Revue d'Assyriologie* since 1940. From Engnell's dissertation (see below), which itself devotes nearly a hundred pages to the study of the Ugaritic myths, I also quote a reference to Eissfeldt's paper, "Bestand und Benennung der Ras-Schamra-Texte" (*Zeits. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, 96, 1942, pp. 507-539).

<sup>2</sup> No. 84 (1941), pp. 14-17. Note further since then Albright and Mendenhall, "The Creation of the Composite Bow in Canaanite Mythology," *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, I, 1942, pp. 227-29 (on Dan'el II, vi: 20-25); Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, pp. 68 ff., 106 ff., 149 ff., 156 ff., 166, and often in the notes; *Annual* XXI-XXII (1943), p. 24, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See below in my notices of recent publications.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1943, pp. 109-115.

<sup>5</sup> *Syria*, XIII, pp. 114, 118 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, XIV, p. 117: "The rest of the column eludes interpretation."

<sup>7</sup> *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1934, pp. 683 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Kitvê Ugarit*, 1936, pp. 20 f.

<sup>9</sup> In J. A. Montgomery, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1933, p. 116.



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Assyriological Gleanings IV

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Undoubtedly they were erected over a long period of time; and as the skeletal evidence implies that, as a rule, the mounds were constructed for adult warriors of the tribe, the dead buried within the tumuli represent only a fraction of the ancient population.<sup>30</sup>

## ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS IV

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

### A MESOPOTAMIAN HARVEST SONG

In his article "Rituels agraires de l'ancien Orient à la lumière des nouveaux textes de Ras Shamra" (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales* III [1935], *Volume offert à Jean Capart*), p. 311 ff., the late A. Moret offered a comprehensive survey of Egyptian and other Near Eastern evidence for harvest customs and songs of a melancholy mood. On the basis of literary as well as archaeological evidence he has shown that the dying of the grain-god under the sickle of the harvester was mourned with special rites which included the singing of a specific chant. Sung to the flute this song which the Egyptians called *Maneros*,<sup>1</sup> the Greeks *Linus*,<sup>1a</sup> characterizes also the harvest customs of many other countries on the shores of the Western Mediterranean; it is accompanied by lamentations and by mimic acts of the same tenor. Frequently this song was identified with a prince of old times, with a prince who bore the same name and died—as Herodotus puts it—an "untimely" death thus giving rise to the institution of annual mournings at the time of the harvest. Many variations on the same theme can be found throughout the agricultural societies of the world, and Moret has gathered much of the evidence concerning Greece and the ancient Near East.

Mesopotamia, however, is missing in the picture offered by the French Egyptologist. Though the eternal cycle of vegetable life was reflected, on a certain level of Mesopotamian religiosity, in a year-round sequence of appropriate festivals and ritual activities, the planting and harvesting

<sup>30</sup> For details of archaeological work done on the Bahrain mounds during the present century, see the following publications. F. B. Prideaux, "The Sepulchral Tumuli of Bahrain," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of India*, 1908-9; E. Mackay, etc., *Bahrain and Hemamieh*. 1929 (Vol. XLVII of the *Publications of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt*). P. B. Cornwall, "The Tumuli of Bahrain," *Asia*, April 1943; *Dilmun: the History of Bahrain Island before Cyrus*. (Harvard doctoral thesis, 1944. To be published in 1947); "An Arab State at the Dawn of History," *The Arab World*, Vol. I, No. 4 (1945), pp. 27-33; "Ancient Arabia: Explorations in Hasa, 1940-41," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 107, 1946, pp. 28-50.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herodotus II: 79 and A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzig 1890, p. 333 ff. [also n. 1<sup>a</sup>].

<sup>1a</sup> For the recent history and present status of the elusive *Maneros* problem see now Miriam Lichtheim, *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, IV (1945), 179-181. The *Linus* question, which is just as enigmatic, has been treated most recently by Otto Eissfeldt, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I (1938), pp. 161 ff. (= *Ras Shamra und Sanchuniaton* [1939], pp. 96 ff.).—W. F. A.

of the domesticated grasses did not seem to have left its imprint on popular religious life. The cereals were considered as being under the special care of deities bearing their names, but these figures of the pantheon have not been identified with them to such a degree that the gods were conceived as suffering death at the time of the harvest and resurrection with the growing grasses.

Nevertheless, I have been able to collect scattered references which do prove the existence of Mesopotamian harvest-customs in line with those of the other countries of the Near East.

Babylonian as well as Assyrian texts of the first millennium denote sporadically a specific and important activity of the farmer with the phrase *šasû alala*. Kings boast in their inscriptions of the destruction they wrought (cf. Assurbanipal, Streck, VAB VII p. 56, col. VI: 102-103) and say that the *šasû alala* has ceased in the ravaged region; the maledictions of a treaty (cf. Weidner, *Der Staatsvertrag Assurnirari's IV von Assyrien mit Matîlu von Bit Agusi*, AfO VIII, p. 21, rev. col. IV: 19) threaten the transgressing ruler with the same calamity.<sup>2</sup> Sargon II (cf. Cyl. Inscr., line 36, and Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne*, l. 206) loves to characterize the blessings of his rule by stressing that he made the *šasû alala* (again) possible (*šulsû alala*).

This phrase is usually interpreted either as describing "the plowman raising the cry of jubilation in the field" (cf. Luckenbill, AR I § 756, II §§ 119, 160) or as referring to the happy songs the farmers sing at harvest time (cf. e. g. Meissner, BuA I p. 331). I disagree with these translations for two reasons:—A) *šasû* never means "to sing," especially not "to sing to express happy feelings." This verb, when said of human beings,<sup>3</sup> denotes exclusively utterances of sounds different from those of normal speech;<sup>4</sup> *šasû* denotes e. g. speaking in foreign tongues, the sing-song of the town-crier, the characteristic cadence of the plaintiff in court, the peculiar way in which ritual lamentations (*šigû*) had to be pronounced, etc.—B) *alalu* does not mean "cry of jubilation" but is to be considered a technical term denoting a specific ritual song to be accompanied by the flute.

My last statement requires some explanation. Certain syllabary passages (cf. H A R. ra = *hubullum*, 6th tablet [Zimmern in MAOG IV, p. 252 ff.] lines 83, 91 and 93, furthermore the note to line 81) explain *gidi* (m), the "long wood," with *a-la-lu-u*, or identify the words *GIŠa-la-la*BU and *GIŠma-lá-lu*BU with *málalu*, i. e. "flute," and thus establish this meaning of Sum. *alala* and the Sumerian loanword in Akk.:

<sup>2</sup> Exceptionally, we have a similar malediction in the *kudurru*, King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, p. 17 col. IV: 44 "May Ningirsu and Baba never grant him (the transgressor) the fate of (participating in the) *a-la-la ṭa-a-ba*."

<sup>3</sup> *šasû* denotes also the squeaking of a door (e. g. Geers, AJSL XLIII, 24: 7 [elsewhere termed *nazáqu* "to wail"]), the ringing of one's ears (cf. Ungnad, ZDMG LXXXI, 65; F. R. Kraus, AfO XI, 228), the howling of a storm (S. Smith, Babyl. Hist. Texts, p. 93, n. 20), and noises produced by various animals (dogs: Boissier, *Doc. Assyri.* p. 107 K 236: 2, sheep: CT XLI, 10: 10, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> Landsberger, *Kult. Kal.* p. 114 note 4 emphatically rejects the meaning "to speak" for *šasû*, cf., however, Dossin in RA XXIX, 123 f. (with regard to Lutz, YOS II, 93: 17).



*alalû*. Commentary-texts to astronomical omens (cf. Weidner's remarks in *AJSL* XXXVIII, 185 to Meek, *RA* XVII, 129, K 2907: rev. 1) explain *a-la-la* with *zi-im-ru* i.e. "song" and state with regard to this term *âš-šû a-la-lu u âš-šû ša-ma-ru* "this (refers) to (singing) the *alalu* and dancing." To sum up: *alala* probably denoted originally a musical instrument, then the characteristic tune played on it, and lastly the dance performed at this occasion. *Alalu* must clearly be separated from the term *elilu* (root 'll) which denotes a gay and jubilant melody;<sup>5</sup> this is clearly borne out by the famous catalogue of hymns (Ebeling, *KAR* 158) which differentiates between *za-mar a-la-li* "song for *alalu*-accompaniment" (rev., col I: 20) and *e-li-lu sad-ru-ti* "happy melody with refrain" (rev., col III: 31). Of course, verbs of this onomatopoeic type recur in all languages.

The cultic character of this ritual performance with dance is also established by the fact that the name *alala* is sometimes (cf. Thureau-Dangin *VIII<sup>e</sup> Camp.*, I. 207 (!), G. Meier, *Maqlû*, VIII: 51, IX: 104) written with the determinative *dingir*. This god *Alala* (<sup>d</sup>*alala*) is furthermore to be found in the lists of gods compiled by the Sumerian theologians (cf. Deimel *Pantheon*, nos. 65, 66) and is identified in a late text (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI, 145, rev., last line but 7, p. 154) with the chthonic god Enki. Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XVI, 149) draws attention to the connection existing between the god *Alala* and his spouse, and sister of Tammuz, the "weeping goddess Belili."<sup>6</sup> All this clearly shows that <sup>d</sup>*Alala* is a figure of the Tammuz circle if not directly a manifestation of that god. An important corroboration of this is offered by the small mythological fragments imbedded in two conjurations of the series *Maqlû* (cf. above), running as follows: "After Sumuqan<sup>7</sup> has sung the divine *alalu*- (melody) in the 'mountain' (Netherworld), after each of them had ascended (probably: the mountain) to cut tamarisk-twigs, [his ?] mother sat down, his [brothers sat down ?] they were sitting and taking counsel [with each] other!". Here we see Sumuqan, the Pan-like protector of cattle and the promoter of their fertility (cf. Meier, *Maqlû*, VII: 24 ff.) playing the *alala*-flute, the typical instrument of the shepherd.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Albright suggests translating *elêlu zamâru* with "to sing a lilt or dancing song" (root: *hll*) referring to Akk. *mêlultu* "dance" = Hebr. *meḥolâ*. For the happy character of this melody cf. e.g. the poem *Ludlul bêl nimeqi* (Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, VII, 170: 41-42).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Langdon's article "The sister of Tammuz" in *Babyloniaca*, VII, 20 ff.  
<sup>7</sup> Thus in *Maqlû* (edition of G. Meier) VIII: 51; in VI: 49 and IX: 104 Ningirsu replaces Sumuqan in exactly the same context. Cf. above n. 2 for the couple Ningirsu and Baba mentioned in connection with the *šasû alala-tâba*. Note also the passage *KAR* 321: 6 (Ebeling, *Der akk. Mythos vom Pestgott Era* p. 8) *e-mu-qa Nin-gir-su meš-ra-a A-la-la* "the (generative) power of Ningirsu, the abundance of *Alala*."

<sup>8</sup> The relations between the "multicolored shepherd-bird" (cf. the Epic of Gilgamesh [Thompson VI: 48] *al-lal-la bil-ru-ma*, and the equation [V R 27: 42 c/d, Deimel, *ŠL* 295m/10] *sipa . bandà . mušen = al-lal-lum*) and our term *alala* remain obscure. For completeness' sake I refer to the Harper-letter ABL 1141: 3 with a reference to an *alalu*-ceremony apparently ordered by the king in or before the month Tašritu. The text is, however, too damaged to allow interpretation. [Cancel in Waterman, *Royal Correspondence*, IV, 46a the references to ABL 1105: rev 16, 1114: 22 for *alalu*].

Thus we learn that the plaintive song *alalu*, sung for the god dying under the sickle of the harvester, the pertinent dance to the "sweet" (*tâbu*, cf. King, BBSt p. 17 col IV: 44, Thureau-Dangin, *VIII<sup>e</sup> Camp.* l. 206) tunes of the flute constituted such an important feature of the harvest in Mesopotamia that historical texts, political documents, etc. could use the phrase *šasû alala* to refer in a literary but exact way to the harvesting of cereals. In a development that has tell-tale parallels in Egypt as well as in Greece the name of this melody and dance is connected with an important figure of the pantheon: the young and beloved god who died an untimely death which is mourned every year at the time of the harvest.

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### MORE BOOKS AND JOURNALS RECEIVED FROM ABROAD

In the April BULLETIN the Editor noticed a number of books, journals and other items which he had recently received from abroad, either in his personal or his editorial capacity. In this article we shall deal with material of this character for which there was no space last time, or which has been received since.

An exceedingly promising new periodical venture was launched in 1943 by our Dutch colleagues, under the title *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. In spite of the singularly unfavorable circumstances under which it was founded, it has continued to flourish and to grow until six numbers are now issued each year under the auspices of the Nederlandsch Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (Noordeindsplein 42, Leiden, Holland). This journal includes reviews in English, French and Dutch, corresponding in scope somewhat to the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, which was a kind of bibliographical *vade mecum* for Orientalists until the seizure of power by the Nazis, after which it deteriorated very rapidly. We recommend it highly to Orientalists and libraries, especially since its informative and judicious reviews will to some extent supply the want of the originals in our American libraries.

In BULLETIN, No. 102, pp. 19 f., we mentioned M. Maurice Dunand's exciting volume, *Byblia Grammata*, in which are published, among other novelties, two new inscriptions from Byblus, which the reviewer would date about the beginning of the ninth century B.C. An article by Professor B. Maisler of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which has recently appeared in *Leshonenu* (Vol. 14, 1946, pp. 165-181), deals with these new inscriptions and their relation to the previously published Byblian inscriptions of the Early Iron Age. Maisler comes independently to the same conclusion as the reviewer reached, that these texts are subsequent to the previously published inscriptions of Abibaal and Elibaal. Thanks to his successful demonstration that *b* is at this period frequently employed for *bn*, "son" (cf. already BULLETIN, No. 99, p. 21) he is able to show by confronting the Šipti-Ba'al and the Elibaal inscriptions that the former was son of the latter and grandson of Yehimilk, just as I had proposed in No. 102, p. 20 (I should place Abibaal between Yehimilk and Elibaal). The supposed *M.rm*, grandfather of Abibaal, must be read *Mšrm*, "Egypt," as hitherto supposed; Clermont-Ganneau's excellent photo shows a clear *gade*, nearly identical with the *gade* of the Gezer tablet. Since the introductory formula is quite different, it is unnecessary to read a personal name here. Maisler prudently leaves the question of absolute chronology open, but his suggestion that Šipti-Ba'al was the Byblian king of that name who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III seems to me epigraphically out of the question; in any case the name was common in Canaanite, being documented from 1400 B.C. to 400 B.C. Another Byblian king by this name flourished about the fifth century B.C. Maisler publishes an excellent comparative table of characters on p. 169. There is now general agreement about the date of Ahiiram, who flourished in the tenth century (not later than cir. 975 B.C., as I insisted in my most recent treatment, BULLETIN, No. 92, p. 20) according to Maisler himself (p. 179) and Aimé-Giron (*Annales du Service des Antiquités*, 53 [1943], 284 ff., quoted from Maisler); Dunand has now



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Assyriological Gleanings IV

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Seminary (1921-33), and president emeritus. He was a man of highly developed loyalties: to his Congregational church, to his Yale and Bangor associations, to his native town of Sandwich, to Rotary and many other organizations, and—not least—to the American Schools of Oriental Research, to which he devoted an astonishing amount of unselfish effort. But for him it is very doubtful whether the Schools could have achieved the difficult endowment goal set for them by the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation in the thirties.

I shall never forget the kindly presence of Dr. Moulton at all gatherings of the School in Jerusalem in 1935-36, while I was director of the School for my last year. He graced our social meetings with his courtesy and led us on all our trips by his unflagging enthusiasm. I shall never forget an arduous climb up the steep slopes of Qarn Sartabeh (Alexandrium) one hot October day (see Moulton's article in *BULLETIN*, No. 62, pp. 14-18). Though Dr. Moulton was over twenty-five years my senior, his athletic frame suffered under the strain less than I did, and he reached the top looking almost as fresh as when he had started!

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

## ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS IV

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

### THE SHADOW OF THE KING.

When the Egyptian Wen-Amun came to Byblus to acquire for his god Amun some of the famous cedar of Lebanon, the local ruler heaped many humiliations on him. Penniless messenger of a politically impotent country (XXIst Dynasty), he accepted this treatment with much patience and took pains to inform us of this fact in his often translated report, preserved on a papyrus published by Golénischeff (for a translation cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, pp. 274 ff.).

One of the numerous incidents of Wen-Amun's expedition has, so far,<sup>1</sup> remained obscure; I shall quote it here in Blackman's translation (*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 182, the English translation of Erman's *Die Literatur der alten Aegypter*). The scene is on the shores of the Mediterranean where the cedar-logs have finally arrived; the king of Byblus has left his palace to meet Wen-Amun there: "Now when I (i. e. Wen-Amun) was brought nigh unto him, the shadow of his fan (?) fell upon me. And Pen-Amun, a butler belonging unto him, placed himself between me (and him), saying: 'The shadow of Pharaoh, thy lord, hath fallen on thee!' And he (the king of Byblos) was wroth with him, saying: 'Let him alone!'"

The implied offense seems to have been a double one: Pen-Amun, the Egyptian courtier who refers to the king of Byblus with the title "Pharaoh,"

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion cf. H. Bauer in *OLZ* XXVIII (1925) p. 571 f. The latest authoritative statement to this problem comes from J. Capart in M. Weynants-Ronday, *Les statues vivantes* (Bruxelles, 1926) p. v.

attempts to keep his unhappy fellow countryman out of the shadow cast by the fan which protects his lord from the sun; and the king seems to add to the insult by—apparently only—rebuking his servant. Even when we assume that the remark of the king was meant to protect Wen-Amun—and this would badly fit into the tenor of the story—we still have to explain why he considered the words of his “butler” too rude even for the treatment of the despised Egyptian.

Since the Egyptologists have not been able to elucidate this incident (cf. note 1) I may be allowed to propose an interpretation based upon late Mesopotamian concepts. The petty kings of Syria and Palestine always readily accepted foreign ideas and forms, especially when these came from one of the neighboring powers with which they wanted to be on good terms. In the centuries of Assyria's last rise to become the main power of the Near East the old Mesopotamian concept of the beneficial shadow of the king<sup>2</sup> (an expression of his social function) seems to have migrated westward. In Syria it encountered the Egyptian royal custom<sup>3</sup> which required the king to be accompanied by an attendant carrying a fan to protect him against the sun. This custom was just beginning to spread toward the Mesopotamian world where we find, after the beginning of the first millennium, the umbrella (*šša-šilli*) as a new royal symbol. In Assyria it is attested by iconographic evidence from the time of Shalmaneser III (858-824), in Babylonia by inscriptional evidence (cf. Sargon II, Annals, line 338, referring to Merodach-baladan; Assurbanipal, Rassam IV: 64, referring to Šamaš-šum-ukin) from the eighth century on.<sup>3a</sup>

The royal parasol is only another manifestation of a concept which has left its imprint in the text of many letters of the so-called royal correspondence of the Assyrian empire (cf. the letters published by R. F. Harper, transliterated and translated by Leroy Waterman). The age-old idea of the beneficial shadow which the king spreads over his subjects was assuming more concrete and definitely legal connotations when—from the West—the parasol was introduced as one of the paraphernalia of kingship.<sup>4</sup>

In these letters, to stay, or to serve (*dālu*<sup>5</sup>) in the “sweet (*tābu*) and fine (*damqu/dīqu*) shadow” of the king means definitely to belong to the immediate entourage of the sovereign. Cf. the passage ABL 264:

<sup>2</sup> The part played by the term *šillu* in Old Accadian and Early Babylonian personal names (cf. e. g. Stamm, *Namengebung*, p. 276) clearly shows the importance of this religious concept.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Albright has referred me to the term *mu-ša-li-il šarri* “fan-bearer of the king” in the Amarna letter 106: 38, which renders an Egyptian expression (JNES V, p. 13a).

<sup>3a</sup> For an earlier, isolated, and therefore very important, occurrence of such a royal umbrella, I refer to the Sargon-stela found in Susa and published by Essad Nassouhi in RA XXI, p. 65 ff. “La stèle de Sargon l'ancien.”

<sup>4</sup> The canopy under which the image was carried in procession was called *ššalmāti*. Cf. the letter ABL 1212: rev. 1-10 “[the . . . s] together with the men with him, when they brought down (from the temple) the (image of the) Queen of Heaven, one of them skidded and the pole (cf. for *kablu* e. g. Th. Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, II p. 51) of the canopy touched the ground! [ ] will there be a [bad omen? because the pole has touched] the ground?”

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for this verb my remarks in *Orientalia*, NS XI, p. 130, note 1.

rev. 6-11, "as soon as the messenger of the king will come to us we will quickly go to have an audience with (lit.: to see) the king, our lord, and to enter (into his presence) [ ] and there our hearts will en[joy] (read: *li-ti-[bu]*) the 'shadow' of the king, our lord!", or ABL 595: 4—rev. 1, "just as you have prepared good positions (lit.: ways) for these sons of yours, do likewise prepare good missions for the other (lit.: many) sons of yours, and let them stand near (*qar-ri-ib*, Imptv. II/1) to the *šillu* and *šullulu*!", and ABL 652: 12—rev. 13, "Quickly may they (i. e. the princes) go to the palace; the month Abu is favorable and all its days are very advantageous (for audiences). I dance for joy (because) it (i. e. the month) is indeed greatly fitting for visiting the king, my lord! The king my lord, is looked upon (in this moment) by all the great gods, (therefore) the 'shadow' of the king, my lord, is (indeed) exceedingly beneficent (in this time). Thus they may go to the palace and stay (*dālu*) in the sweet and fine 'shadow' of the king, my lord! May the king, my lord, see them prosper and may their children, in turn, live (*dālu*) likewise in the presence of the king, my lord!".<sup>6</sup> Cf. also ABL 886: rev. 1-4.

The shadow of the king, described in the last quoted letter as being fraught under certain circumstances with dangerous qualities, stretches, however, farther than within the immediate reach of the king's umbrella. Some references show that certain persons are considered (or: consider themselves) being "*ina šilli ša šarri*," a status which entitles them to specific privileges. Most probably these privileges were originally enjoyed by persons near the king, those who actually lived "in his shadow." Cf. the passage ABL 152: 8—rev. 2 "the . . . official has seized me without the permission of the king or of the crown-prince, and put me in prison; he has plundered the house of my father. Whatever my fathers have acquired under the 'shadow' of the king, he has plundered and taken away!", or ABL 925: 5-7 "the king has said as follows: 'Go ahead, sow, harvest and fill your granary, and use it up under my 'shadow!'," ABL 852: rev. 2-18 "the king, my lord, knows that I am deprived of everything, having neither house nor servants, and as to Babylon, (there) the Dakuraean has ruined my property which from my mother and my brothers I have withheld. Thus I am troubled in two ways! (When there) fell from your sacred lips (lit.: mouth)—which Shamash and Marduk do bless—(the order): 'Verily, your house will prosper (again)!' behold, (it was just as though) it had (already) prospered in the 'shadow' of the king, my lord!", also ABL 892: 4-9, 916: 11, etc. A very characteristic passage (ABL 456: 4—rev. 16) runs as follows: "N. . . has mustered witnesses against me . . . but the king, my lord, has saved my life and has granted me 'shadow' in the town of Nineveh and he has settled there my family (*nišē<sup>mes</sup>-bīti-ia*), my grandchildren (also) and I am living there (myself). May it please the king that his servant should be given a 'fifty'-fief, seeds, arable

<sup>6</sup> The end of this letter contains the well-known proverb (cf. now R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux*, etc. p. 222) " (it is really) like this saying: 'The *amēlu* (lives in) the shadow of god, and mankind (in the ) shadow of the *amēlu* ' (and) *amēlu* means 'king' (in this context) because he (i. e. the king) is (for us human beings) just like a god! "

territory, a garden-plot yielding 2 homer of wine and—(since) to a 'shadow' of my lord also belong the (necessary) horses and cattle—may they bring (them) and let (them) stay there to sow the seeds and to raise (thus) food. In that manner the servants of the king, my lord, will certainly be able to make a living in Nineveh and not (be forced) to stretch out (their hands like beggars<sup>7</sup> (since they are now) in the 'shadow' of the king, my lord." This letter reveals that the status of being "in the shadow of the king" entitles the official to a certain income with the obligation to keep up an adequate living-standard. Cf. also ABL 1285: rev. 22.

Officials on mission were considered as travelling "in the shadow of the king," as can be seen from ABL 400: 6-11 (royal letter) "As to what you have asked (me): 'Shall I enter Pasi?', (I answer): 'Under my 'shadow' you may go (?), do not be afraid!'" Cf. ABL 238: rev. 6-8 "in Nippur many untrustworthy people (literally people with tongues) live in the "shadow" of the king, my lord, (but) I shall arrange for the functioning (lit.: the passing on) of the royal order and discuss the matter with them," ABL 878: rev. 10, etc. Even groups of persons could be endowed, by royal order, with the privilege of being "in the shadow of the king" (term. techn. *šilla šušbutu*) as is shown in the letter ABL 167: 7-18 "as to the people and the(ir) cattle which they bring from Guzanu, I went to meet them as far as Š.; I mustered (them), took (them) over and granted (them) 'shadow.' At the inspection . . . (together) 15 souls were missing according to my document!"; cf. also ABL 771: rev. 9-10 "when we came into the 'shadow' of the king we were liberated," and perhaps the damaged passage ABL 1457: 8.

So far we have seen that the shadow of the king, or more exactly the shadow cast by the royal parasol, endowed these officials upon whom it fell with a special status (privileges, etc.), and that the phrase "to be in the shadow of the king" was applied to officials on special missions. Eventually this phrase assumed the connotation "under the auspices of the king, during the rule of the king" as can, e. g., be seen from ABL 808: rev. 9-17 "I looked for him without finding him (but) nobody shall escape who commits sin against the lord of kings! When he, under the auspices (*ina šilli*) of the lord of kings, will fall into my hands, I shall [report it, immediately (?)] to the lord of kings." Also ABL 920: 10, 17-18, 1248: 5 (in both passages: *ina šilli šarrāni abbē-ka*), 1000: rev. 7-8, etc.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my remarks in JAOS LXI, p. 269 f.

<sup>8</sup> The *šillu* of a deity is mentioned in ABL 451: 8—rev. 1 (letter of a private person to an official) "through all these days (during which) I was without news, I have not seen fair weather. But now (after having received a letter) I shall go to Uruk in your "shadow" and in the "shadow" of the Lady of Uruk. Do speak a favorable word for me to the king and to the officials (at court)!" While this man speaks glibly of the "shadow" of his influential colleague and of that of the Lady of Uruk—for obvious adulatory purposes—we see in the rather soft-pedalled letter (ABL 539: rev. 10-12) an Assyrian king (Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal) refer to the "shadow" of Aššur and Marduk, carefully avoiding, however, mention of his own "shadow." The phrase runs as follows: "But you are actually placed in the 'shadow' of Aššur and Marduk, and you should therefore show your gratitude (*tu-man-du*) in/during the festivals performed for them (*ina libbi i-si-ti-šu-nu*)!" Cf. also the Neo-Babylonian letters YOS III 167: 18, CT XXII 184: 11 and 224: 8.

Lastly I quote a unique reference for the phrase *ina šilli šarri* which appears in the difficult letter ABL 364: 8—rev. 13 “with regard to the people on account of which the king, our lord, has sent us a letter (as follows): ‘Why did you not inform me as to who (of them) went out (to do work)? Now, those who did not do any work (so far) shall go out tomorrow and do the work!’ (To this we answer as follows): ‘(Since) the king, our lord, knows (anyhow) those who did work and those who did not, why (!) should we try to learn (about such things)? Certainly, Bêl and Nabû have revealed (this) (*lu-ša-id-du*) *ina šilli šarri*! (Thus) they will go out and do the work!’.” The writers of this letter seem to allude to a concept according to which the two gods of the king, Bêl and Nabû, are hovering under the royal umbrella in order to keep the king informed as to whatever happens in his country. This reference to a supernatural omniscience of the king might be nothing more than an exaggerated figure of speech coined by an over-courteous courtier, but it may also reflect a theme of the royal “propaganda line.” In favor of the last alternative is the variant *ina šil ulâni ša šarri* attested in ABL 886: 4 and 1311: rev. 23 and to be translated “in the shadow (cast by) the gods of the king.” With regard to the Mesopotamian antipathy for abstract concepts I would like to suggest that this idea was suggested by the fact that representations of these gods were actually embroidered (?) on the royal umbrella. This is, of course, purely conjectural; at any rate, it does not affect the validity of the evidence here collected for the “shadow of the king.”

This evidence makes us understand why Pen-Amun, the butler of the king of Byblus, stepped between his lord and the Egyptian messenger; he was obviously afraid that the shadow of the king's fan might touch the messenger and thus entitle him to claim certain rights and privileges. But he was apparently too late, and since the shadow had already touched Wen-Amun it was necessary for the king to interfere in order to take away again the blessings of the royal shadow which the messenger had accidentally acquired. With the words “Let him alone!” addressed to his courtier, the king of Byblus excludes the Egyptian messenger from the status of those who are *ina šilli šarri*. And Wen-Amun reports this embarrassing incident with somewhat of the humble but proud submissiveness of a martyr suffering on behalf of his god.

## THE COMPOSITE BOW OF THE CANAANITE GODDESS ANATH

YIGAEL SUKENIK

It is due to the interpretation of one of the Ugaritic texts offered by Albright and Mendenhall, that we now have a unique literary document dating back to the beginning of the 14th century B. C. (or earlier), describing and naming the materials required to produce the “composite

Note eventually the Middle-Assyrian text B. M. 96,947 (cf. King AKA 388 ff.) mentioning a house in Assur built “in the shadow of the temple of Marduk” (obv. 5).